

ISLAM IN THE MALAY WORLD : AL-FALIMBANI'S SCHOLARSHIP

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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

*To My beloved late father, Pehin Penyurat Haji Awang Ahmad bin
Pehin Jawatan Dalam Haji Awang Mohammad Yusof (d.1436/2015),
May Allah sanctify his soul and bless him.*



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Chapter 1

Review of Sources and Contemporary Studies

Before this study proceeds to discuss al-Falimbānī's life and works, it is necessary to undertake a brief overview of the relevant primary sources and modern studies. The purpose of this chapter is firstly, to discuss the extent of relevant research previously carried out in this field, particularly the existing knowledge of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, his works and his contemporaries. Secondly, this chapter highlights additional sources which were not utilised in previous studies. This includes his own works, biographical notices of al-Falimbānī by his students and later generations, and works by his contemporaries. Lastly, this chapter also introduces later Malay works which provide information regarding his early life and travels.

This chapter thus outlines the major sources and previous studies used as a basis in this study before progressing in later chapters to provide a new perspective on al-Falimbānī's life and surviving works.

Studies and Sources on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī

There are very scanty materials in Arabic and Malay concerning 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's life and personality. Existing studies of sources known to scholars tell us that al-Falimbānī was a scholar from Palembang, South Sumatra, who went to study in Mecca and Medina in the second half of the eighteenth century, and that his fields of study as made evident from his few known works were Islamic Theology (*Uṣūl ad-dīn*), Islamic Jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), and finally, Ṣūfism (*Taṣawwuf*). However, it is possible to identify many of his own works that have not been utilised by

modern scholars. These include mainly unpublished manuscripts and a few of his own published works. As a result of my examination of these manuscripts in addition to his published works, fresh details of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's life and his roles as scholar and *Ṣūfī* are brought to light and can now assist in reconstructing his biographical sketch.

Contemporary Studies on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and His Context

As pointed out earlier, there are very limited studies concerning 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's life and contributions. Nevertheless, there are some references to him and some of his known writings in certain articles or studies. A review of these articles and contemporary studies in chronological order will help to comprehend the current available scholarly literature pertaining to al-Falimbānī's life and reveal the extent of historical background and writings known to these studies.

Perhaps the first most important study of the *Jāwī* community which remains an essential source for the *Jāwī 'ulamā'* is the classic work of the Dutch scholar, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936). His detailed description based on direct observation of the Muslims in Mecca in general, and the *Jāwī* community in particular during his stay in Jeddah and Mecca during 1884-1885, may be considered a model for ethnographical studies. Based on his personal observation and experience, he published his work, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, which probably is the first of its kind by a western scholar who observed and studied the intellectual cultural history of Islam from the very heart of the Muslim world, the significance of Islam in the daily life of its believers, the traditional Islamic learning system in one of its most esteemed centres, and the *Jāwī* community in Mecca. This work includes the history of Mecca up to 1887 which the author adapted from formerly unknown Arabic sources to those of western scholars which he had been able to acquire in Mecca; a detailed description of the public life, home life and the traditional Islamic learning of various religious disciplines, especially in the sacred mosque of Mecca (*al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*), and

the activities of the *Jāwī* community who formed a large group in the cosmopolitan life of the Holy City.¹

Perhaps the main reason for studying the life and activities of the *Jāwī* community was the desire to know to what extent did Mecca influence the spiritual life of the *Jāwīs* and their influence on their fellow countrymen by means of direct contact during the pilgrimage; such knowledge was beneficial to the Dutch East Indies's government as Snouck Hurgronje was appointed as an adviser to the Dutch Colonial Office in 1891. Nevertheless, such study and information is useful for students of Islamic studies as it provides a foundation to understand this field of study. Though the study of the history of Islam and Islamic scholars have been known in the Islamic tradition since the early Islamic centuries, Snouck Hurgronje's work is perhaps a pioneering work to the Western world to manifest the importance of such studies. He definitely opened up the door to the outside world and inspired other Western scholars to study cultural aspects of Islam, in particular the works and intellectual life of the *Jāwī* 'ulamā'.

Although Snouck Hurgronje lived about a century after the period under study, he did make some remarks on al-Falimbānī in passing, telling us that he was a famous author from Palembang who lived in Mecca a century ago.² However, his descriptions of the *Jāwī* community especially their scholars whom he came in contact with during his stay is of importance to this study, as some of these scholars were from the surviving generation of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's students. In addition, his observations on the traditional Islamic learning system in the Holy City, the teaching career of the *Jāwī* teachers and learning activities of the *Jāwī* students is very useful as it gives us a lively picture of their daily life and activities which perhaps had not changed much since the period of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself.

The first contemporary Western scholar to have provided us with the biography of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was perhaps the Dutch linguist, Petrus Voorhoeve (1899-1996), a student of Snouck Hurgronje. He wrote a short entry in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* under the title "'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Falimbānī.'" ³ The ascription of 'Abd Allāh as the father of al-Falimbānī is erroneous as can be seen in the next chapter. However, apart from informing us that he was a scholar from Palembang

in Sumatra, and was a pupil of Muḥammad as-Sammān, the founder of the Sammāniyyah order, and seems to have lived mostly in Arabia, this work does not furnish us with any information on his background. Nevertheless, Voorhoeve provides a list and briefly describes five of his writings, which he adapts from the descriptive manuscript catalogue by 'the librarian and keeper of the Muḥammadan manuscripts' in Batavia, Philippus Samuel van Ronkel (1870-1954).⁴

The first from Voorhoeve's list is *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, then one of his earliest writings, *Zuhrat al-Murīd*,⁵ then *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn*, *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat ūlī 'l-Ittiqā*,⁶ and lastly *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*, which Voorhoeve claims to contain "fervent admonitions to holy war against infidels. It inspired the author of the Achehnese poem *Hikayat Prang Sabi*, of which various redactions were circulated in Aceh during the war against the Dutch in the last quarter of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century."⁷

Another brief account on al-Falimbānī was also written by Sir Richard Olof Winstedt (1878-1966). His writing primarily deals with the history of classical Malay literature which includes religious tracts and their authors, listing eight authors in chronological sequence, including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, discussed briefly in two short paragraphs. However, like Voorhoeve, he does not furnish us with any information on his life background.⁸ Winstedt only enumerates three principal writings of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, his *Zuhrat al-Murīd*, *Hidāyat al-Sālikīn* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn*.

A study on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was later undertaken by a Malaysian scholar, Muhammad 'Uthman El-Muhammady. In his paper "The Islamic concept of education according to Shaykh 'Abdu's-Samad of Palembang and its significance in relation to the issue of personality integration," he attempts to discern the salient features of the Islamic educational doctrine and method according to the *Ṣūfī* tradition as expressed by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī. According to him al-Falimbānī saw the educational process as the process of purifying the base metal of the fallen soul from all the dross by means of spiritual alchemy available in the Islamic tradition hence transmuting it into a soul of gold which glitters with the spiritual virtues. El-Muhammady also points out that it is *Tawḥīd* which forms the foundation of all *Ṣūfī*

metaphysics and that it was the misunderstanding of this central doctrine that led some scholars of Şūfism to accuse it of pantheism. Furthermore, he elaborates the doctrine of the seven grades of *nafs* (soul) which the human soul has to experience in its journey to the Absolute and to the attainment of perfection.⁹

However on al-Falimbānī's life account, El-Muhammady's study does not provide us with much information as it only tells us that he lived an active literary life in Mecca and at-Tā'if in Arabia extended from the year 1178/1765 to 1203/1789, a fact which was already widely known to scholars dealing with this subject. From these dates, he asserts that al-Falimbānī went to study in Mecca, Arabia in the second half of the eighteenth century. He mentions two of his most known teachers, the renowned Şūfī saint (*walī*) of Medina, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, his spiritual guide, and the Egyptian scholar Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im ad-Damanhūrī from whom he heard the lecture on dogmatic theology, which he noted down in his *Zahrat al-Murīd*.

On al-Falimbānī's writings, El-Muhammady enumerates six of them, adding one further writing to the list of Voorhoeve, *Rātib 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad*. He incorrectly transcribes al-Falimbānī's most significant work as *Siyarū's-Sālikīn fī Tarīqah aṣ-Ṣādāt as-Sūfiyah*,¹⁰ instead of being his *Sayr as-Sālikīn*. Following previous literatures, he describes *Sayr as-Sālikīn* as being a translation of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm ad-Dīn*, "containing considerable amount of original materials based on his investigation" and addition from other sources.¹¹ Likewise with al-Falimbānī's *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*, based on al-Ghazālī's *Bidāyat al-Hidāyah*.

In addition, El-Muhammady also mentions *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu'nīn fī Faḍl al-Jihād*. However all these writings, besides the *Rātib*, have already been mentioned by previous scholars, so, there is no new information on al-Falimbānī's life and writings which can be extracted from El-Muhammady's study.

Another contemporary scholar who also wrote about al-Falimbānī was G. W. J. Drewes (1899-1992), a student of Snouck Hurgronje. As already demonstrated earlier, he provides an appendix on Palembang manuscripts and its authors in the eighteenth century, listing eleven authors including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself, together with seven writings credited to him.¹²

Drewes's work focuses on *Kitāb Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān*, Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī's commentary on Walī Raslān ad-Dimashqī's *Risālah fī 't-Tawḥīd*, and its Malay adaptations. It is worth mentioning that in this work, Drewes includes a Malay Epistle (*risalah*) composed by another Palembang author, Shihāb ad-Dīn, sometime during the 1750's as well as providing his own summary in English. Starting with the interpretation of manifest and hidden polytheism as given by Zakariyyā al-Anṣārī in his *Faṭḥ ar-Raḥmān*, this epistle quotes both Walī Raslān and al-Anṣārī as authoritative, and expresses an admonitory spirit. Its purpose is to check the spread of the *Ṣūfī*'s doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, commonly known among the masses as the 'seven grades' (*martabat tujuh*) that have such a wide circulation in the Malay Archipelago, and to warn against the rampant neglect of religious observances resulting from its influence which have led the *Jāwī* to go astray.¹³ Hence from the information in this epistle, one can comprehend the historical background of the socio-religious environment in the Malay Archipelago and Palembang in particular during the eighteenth century, which coincide with the period of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's lifetime.

On al-Falimbānī's life, Drewes asserts that he took up residence in Mecca most probably in the early sixties of the eighteenth century, where all of his works were written here or in aṭ-Ṭā'if, the mountain city south east of Mecca with its cool climate which has been the summer residence of well-to-do Meccans throughout the centuries. Drewes states that it was unknown whether al-Falimbānī ever returned to his native country. However, from the two letters which al-Falimbānī wrote in 1772 to introduce and recommend two returning religious scholars from Mecca to the prince of Central Java, Drewes points out that he must have enjoyed considerable fame as a scholar during his life-time.¹⁴ Thus he was able to take advantage of his position to recommend to the Royal court the two religious figures who most probably were his own disciples and who had completed their studies in Mecca under his guidance and were looking for religious offices in Java.

The two letters written by al-Falimbānī and sent to Java were intended for the Sulṭān of Mataram, Sri Sulṭān Hamengkubuwono I (r. 1749-1792), previously prince Mangkubumi, and Susuhunan Prabu Jaka alias Pangeran Singasari, a son of Amangkurat IV (r. 1719-1726),

and consequently a half-brother of prince Mangkubumi, respectively. According to Drewes, the documents were unearthed by Dr. M. C. Ricklefs (then of London) apparently in early 1970s from the Dutch Colonial Archives during his study on the history of Yogyakarta in the reign of Sulṭān Mangkubumi. However, these documents were not the letters themselves but the Dutch rendition of the Javanese translations of the Arabic originals which had been dispatched from Mecca to the Javanese princes and were intercepted by the Dutch authorities in Semarang.¹⁵ It is very unfortunate that we do not know the precise contents of the original Arabic letters that are lost, presumably destroyed by the Dutch authorities in Semarang, which perhaps would have shed more information on al-Falimbānī himself.

Based on the evidence that ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī maintained contacts with his native land, Drewes unhesitatingly concludes that a treatise entitled *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn fī Bayān Ḥaqīqat Imān al-Mu’miniin wa-mā Yuṣiduhu min Riddat al-Murtaddīn* by an anonymous author, in all probability was composed by al-Falimbānī and written at the request of the Sulṭān of Palembang. He further supported his conclusion based on Voorhoeve’s comments on a manuscript copy of this work which he claims had many indications that the author was ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī. Strongly agreeing with Voorhoeve’s claim, Drewes further added that from the wording of the introduction one could infer that *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* was written at the behest of the Palembang court.¹⁶

This treatise, as can be seen later in the discussion on al-Falimbānī’s writings, was wrongly ascribed to him by both Voorhoeve and Drewes. The evidence from this study strongly indicates that *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* was not authored by al-Falimbānī but by his contemporary Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī.

However, of the seven listed writings of al-Falimbānī which Drewes cited from Winstedt’s, Voorhoeve’s and El-Muhammady’s works – four were in Malay, including the wrongly attributed *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* and three in Arabic – no new addition is provided to the list.¹⁷

In a Romanised edition of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, the French philologist Henri Chambert-Loir contributed an article titled “Abdussamad Al-Falimbani Sebagai Ulama Jawi” as an introduction to this edition. In this article, Chambert-Loir attempts to

construct a biographical sketch of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī based on extracts from other contemporary scholars' works such as Drewes, Voorhoeve, Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah and others but without using original Arabic or Malay sources.¹⁸

According to Chambert-Loir, despite al-Falimbānī's writing being considerably small in number, he was one of the renowned *Jāwī* scholars in the eighteenth century. Though his biographical account is more likely to be fable than factual, he is primarily known for his important role in introducing al-Ghazālī's works to the Malay world as well as spreading the teachings of as-Sammān. Following the emergence of scholars in Aceh during the early seventeenth century, the eighteenth century witnessed the rise of scholars from different parts of the Archipelago. It is obvious, as Chambert-Loir points out, that al-Falimbānī was contemporaneous to other important *Jāwī* scholars such as Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī, Muḥammad Nafīs al-Banjārī, Dāwūd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Faṭānī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī al-Miṣrī, as all of them studied during the same time in Mecca. However, each of them played a different role in their homeland. For instance, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī who is known as a prolific author and whose teachings have spread widely through his writings which have been frequently published and probably the largest in the archipelago. By contrast, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī was only known in Batavia and his teachings did not spread through his writings.

The main contribution of Chambert-Loir is that he observed that details on al-Falimbānī's life can be known by extracting pieces of information scattered in his writings, as he normally supplies the dates and places where he completes them. Unfortunately, he did not accomplish this because he did not consult any primary sources. He mentions that there are two common assumptions made regarding al-Falimbānī's life: the first is that he died after completing his final volume of *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, and the second is that he never returned to the Archipelago. Both of these points will be discussed and in details challenged in the next chapter. Finally, Chambert-Loir gives a brief description of seven works of al-Falimbānī. These are all already mentioned earlier by his predecessors. He follows Voorhoeve and Drewes in attributing *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn* to al-Falimbānī, a work claimed to be written on behest of Sulṭān of Palembang.¹⁹

Anthony H. Johns who has published several studies on Islam and Sūfism in the Malay Archipelago have also mentioned 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in some of his writings. In his article "Islam in the Malay World: An Exploratory Survey with some reference to Quranic Exegesis," he mentioned three scholars of Palembang in the eighteenth century together with their writings including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself.²⁰ However, all the information on these three scholars and their works were adopted from Drewes's works, thus no new material or additional information is furnished in Johns's work.

Johns listed only four writings of al-Falimbānī: his *Sayr as-Sālikūn*, *Hidāyat al-Sālikūn*, his *Zahrat al-Murīd*, which Johns described as a Malay work on *manṭiq* and *uṣūl ad-dīn* based on a lecture given by Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī in Mecca, without providing its title, and finally his Arabic *Nasīhat al-Muslimīn*.

Apparently, Johns believes that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad must have died in *al-Ḥaramayn* as he points out that unlike 'Abd al-Ra'ūf as-Sinkīlī who returned home, al-Falimbānī was characteristic of the religious teachers from the Archipelago who preferred to die in the holy land despite his deep concern for his compatriots back in Sumatra. On supporting this, Johns mentions that Ṣiddīq b. 'Umar Khān al-Madanī wrote a commentary on Muḥammad as-Sammān's *Qaṣīdat an-Naṣḥat al-Qudsīyyah*,²¹ at al-Falimbānī's request, a commentary intended for his fellow Muslims in Palembang. Besides this there is no new information on al-Falimbānī and his writings, which we already know from the writings of previous scholars.

The Indonesian scholar M. Chatib Quzwain, has paid some attention to al-Falimbānī. He first wrote a seminar paper titled "Syeikh 'Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani: Suatu studi mengenai perkembangan Islam di Palembang dalam Abad ke 18 Masehi," a study on the historical development of Islam in Palembang in the eighteenth century based on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's life and writings.²² This article was compiled with other papers and later published as a book on the history of the introduction of Islam in South Sumatra. Quzwain begins by introducing the history of Islamic development in the Sultanate of Palembang from the fifteenth until the eighteenth century, simultaneously

highlighting al-Falimbānī's life and role in the development of Islam in Palembang.

On the historical background of al-Falimbānī, Quzwain assumes his date of birth was 1115/1703 or 1116/1704, which he claims was deduced from the traditional account of al-Falimbānī in *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah*. He maintains that when al-Falimbānī wrote his magnum opus, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, which he began in 1193/1779, his age would have been around seventy five years, an age he considered still possible to produce such extensive writings. However, according to my research this deduction is inaccurate as we will see later in the next chapter.

Quzwain also concludes that al-Falimbānī died not long after completing his *Sayr as-Sālikīn* in 1203/1788 and was buried in his homeland Palembang; his shrine still being visited by the locals for votive offerings up to the present day. However, some of al-Falimbānī's life accounts including his activities and teachings presented by Quzwain contradict my own findings. For instance, he claims that al-Falimbānī had never mentioned whether he ever set foot to study at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and that he did not profess the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. It is clear from al-Falimbānī's own writings that he points out that he attended lectures at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām in Mecca and that he wrote an epistle to elucidate the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* that he believed in.²³

As a continuation of his previous writing, Quzwain further developed and expanded his study to be presented as his doctoral thesis which was later revised and published as *Mengenai Allah: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syaikh Abdus-Samad al-Palimbani*. In this work, the author gives special attention to al-Falimbānī's *Ṣūfī* ideas and teachings which he examined from his two best known works, *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* and *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, analysing the influence of both al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn al-ʿArabī (638/1240).²⁴ In addition to the seven writings credited by Drewes to al-Falimbānī, Quzwain added another title, namely *Zād al-Muttaqīn*, which he mentioned was extracted from *Sayr as-Sālikīn*.²⁵ However, biographical information on al-Falimbānī was a replication of his previous writing with nothing new. One of the main points he maintains in his work is that al-Falimbānī started his writing career and completed his first work, *Zahrat al-Murīd* in 1178/1765 at around sixty years of age. He attempted to justify his position but as

we shall see later, this opinion is based on a number of compounded errors.

Another Indonesian scholar, Azyumardi Azra, already noted earlier, has undertaken a more comprehensive study of the scholarly networks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries connecting the *Jāwī* 'ulamā' and the Arab world. His book, first published in Malay and later in English is based mostly on his 1992 PhD dissertation.²⁶

As mentioned earlier, this work is primarily a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the networks connecting 'ulamā' in the Malay Archipelago and the Arab world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Since 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was one of the prominent *Jāwī* 'ulamā' in the eighteenth century, a short biographical notice on his career was included in a five-page discussion in Azra's work. While furnishing us with al-Falimbānī's biographical account, Azra refers to several Arabic biographical dictionaries that provide accounts relating to him and in doing so he is the first scholar writing in English who to my knowledge had called attention to 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's career in Zabīd, Yemen, and to indicate the existing entry on him as recorded by his student 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*. However, Azra did not utilise this work as he was unable to consult the original work (*an-Nafas*) since he could find neither manuscript nor printed edition of it, and had to rely on a six-page description of it given by al-Kattānī in his *Fahras*.²⁷ Further discussion on al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* and al-Kattānī's *Fahras* is undertaken below.

Furthermore, Azra claims that out of all the available sources, only the *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah* supplies the date of al-Falimbānī's birth and death. According to him, this work tells us that al-Falimbānī was born about 1116/1704 in Palembang to a Sayyid father and a Palembang woman, hence corroborates the Arabic sources which he claims to have mention that al-Falimbānī was a Sayyid. He also points out that al-Falimbānī's father was said to have come from Ṣan'ā', Yemen, and travelled widely in India and Java before taking up residence in Kedah where he was later appointed as the *Qāḍī* (judge). He further asserts that about 1112/1700, his father went to Palembang where he married a local woman and returned to Kedah with his new born son, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad.

Azra points out that according to al-Baytār, al-Falimbānī died after 1200/1785, thus he assumed that probably he died in 1203/1789, the date of completion of his final and most acclaimed work, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*. He disagrees with the *Tawārīkh Silsilah* which indicates that he was killed in the war against the Thais in 1244/1828, and claims that there is no evidence in other sources to indicate that al-Falimbānī ever returned to the Archipelago and that he would then have been about 124 years old; too old to go to the battlefield. He concluded that al-Falimbānī must have died in 1203/1789 as there is a strong suggestion, according to him that he died in Arabia, but he fails to mention any source.

Azra was the first, to my knowledge, to have consulted several Arabic sources for charting the *Jāwī* scholarly connections with the Arab world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, I have found several inconsistencies regarding the biographical account of al-Falimbānī in his work. His conclusion not only contradicts the sources utilised for this study, but also the sources he himself consulted to deduce his outcome. This will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

Finally, study on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was also undertaken by our contemporary Malaysian scholar, Haji Wan Mohd. Shaghir Abdullah (1945-2007). He spent a lifetime compiling information and works especially those written in Malay by *Jāwī* 'ulamā' and had published numerous books related to them. In doing so, perhaps he is one of the most active scholars working on the *Jāwī* authors and their writings. It is worth mentioning that Abdullah himself was the maternal grandson of the late nineteenth century Pattani (now in southern Thailand) 'ālim and prolific author, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Zayn b. Muṣṭafā al-Faṭānī (1856-1908), with no less than forty works credited to him. During his stay in Mecca, Snouck Hurgronje met Aḥmad al-Faṭānī whom he described as 'a savant of merits' who was entrusted by the Ottoman governor of Mecca with the supervision of the Malay press in the Holy City.²⁸

It was from his maternal grandfather, Aḥmad al-Faṭānī, that Abdullah inherited numerous manuscript copies either written by him or his predecessors such as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. In addition to these copies, Abdullah also travelled around the Archipelago to collect such works with old published *Kitāb Jāwī* (Islamic literature written in Malay,

locally known as '*kitab kuning*'), and he thus had numerous copies in his personal collection.

However, Abdullah is strongly criticised by the Dutch anthropologist and author, Martin van Bruinessen who states that his works do not measure up to present standards of critical scholarship and have to be used cautiously.²⁹ This is certainly true of some of his works, especially his Malay transliteration of Arabic words, as he seems to have a limited command of the Arabic language itself; his writings also often lack critical analysis. He frequently provides information claimed to be based on oral evidence from traditional knowledge handed down from generation to generation or based on manuscript copies held in his personal collection; both of these are very difficult to verify. Furthermore, several of his writings suffer from a number of inconsistencies, contradicting one another or other reliable sources, as we will see shortly. I have personally tried to request on numerous occasions relevant copies from Abdullah's manuscript collections but to no avail. Nevertheless, his writings present much materials that are not readily available or easily accessible elsewhere.

His first monograph on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was his book *Syeikh Abdush Shamad Al-Falimbani: Shufi yang Syahid fi Sabilillah*. In this work, Abdullah makes his first full attempt to introduce 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī as one of the scholars of the Malay Archipelago, and tries to sketch his historical background. In doing so he relies heavily on the previously mentioned study by El-Muhammady and Muhammad's *Tawārikh Silsilah*, for a traditional Malay account of al-Falimbānī. Other than his own additions not mentioned in *Tawārikh Silsilah*, the rest are generally replications of what have been discussed and noted earlier. However, his additions are more likely to be his personal assumptions rather than factual deductions as we can see his numerous claims, such as 'Abd al-Jalīl send his son al-Falimbānī to study at '*pondok*' (traditional religious school) in Pattani, southern Thailand, without providing any references and which cannot be verified from any sources. Furthermore, he claims that most of these additions are from his interview with older generations and based mostly on word of mouth that have been handed down by generations, hence impossible to be verified.³⁰

According to Abdullah, upon completing his studies in his homeland, al-Falimbānī continued to study in Mecca for thirty years with his Malay friends, among the more well known are Muḥammad Arshad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Banjārī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Bugīsī, and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī. Later, together with his friends, they travel to Medina where they studied for another five years, and among their teachers were Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān and Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurḍī.

Abdullah believes that al-Falimbānī travelled back to the Archipelago twice. According to him, the first journey was with his three above mentioned friends as well as Dāwūd al-Faṭānī. They reached Penang, then Kedah, and thence travelled by land to Perak and Singapore. From the latter, they travelled further to Batavia (now Jakarta). It was from Batavia that all of them returned to their respective homelands; Muḥammad Arshad accompanied by 'Abd al-Wahhāb travelled to Banjar, Dāwūd al-Faṭānī travelled to Pattani and 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself travelled back to Palembang. Abdullah does not provide any date for this travel and notes that al-Falimbānī did not stay long in Palembang as he soon returned to Mecca.³¹

The second journey, according to Abdullah, was upon completing his treatise on *jihād* entitled *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*. However, al-Falimbānī did not go back to his homeland Palembang, instead he went to Kedah to meet his half brother 'Abd al-Qādir who by that time had assumed the position of new state *mufī* to replace his late father 'Abd al-Jalīl. A few years previously Kedah had been occupied by the Siamese and upon his arrival al-Falimbānī immediately join the *jihād* led by Tunku Muḥammad Sa'd to drive the Siamese out of Kedah. He was later killed on the battlefield, and hence Abdullah concludes that al-Falimbānī died in 1244/1828. Finally, Abdullah concludes his work by enumerating seven writings credited to al-Falimbānī, all those mentioned by Quzwain excluding the *Tuḥfat ar-Rāghibīn*.

Later, Abdullah published another book on al-Falimbānī entitled *Syeikh Abdus Shamad Palembang: Ulama Shufi dan Jihad Dunia Melayu*. This book as indicated by the author is a revised and updated version of his research, especially the writing discussed above. In his prologue, Abdullah points out that he disagrees with several of Azra's claims in

his *Jaringan Ulama* which he argues did not provide any new findings on al-Falimbānī's life history nor on his writings.³² Two examples of the disagreement with Azra are: firstly, the name of al-Falimbānī's father taken from four different sources, which are respectively, 'Abd al-Jalīl, Faqīh Ḥusayn, 'Abd Allāh and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān. Apart from 'Abd al-Jalīl which comes from the traditional account found in *Tawārīkh Silsilah*, Abdullah argues that the remaining names are based on several manuscripts that he possesses, including the name 'Abd ar-Raḥmān which Azra claims to have only come from Arabic sources. However, Abdullah himself did not investigate further in order to draw any conclusions regarding al-Falimbānī's genealogy.

Abdullah also strongly refuted claims by both Azra and Quzwain that al-Falimbānī was born in 1116/1704 as this does not corroborate with *Tawārīkh Silsilah* which both claim as their source of reference. However, Abdullah once again does not provide any suggestion or carry out further investigation to resolve this dispute. Abdullah also provides some *isnāds* of al-Falimbānī which he replicates from al-Fādānī's *al-'Iqd al-Farīd*, but unfortunately does not elaborate any further on any of the teachers mentioned in these *isnāds*.

Similar to his earlier writing on the biographical account of al-Falimbānī, Abdullah points out his two travels back home, first to Palembang and the second to Kedah where he was reported to have been killed in a *jihād* against the Siamese. Similarly, he maintains that al-Falimbānī's return to Kedah was after completing his *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn*. However this is implausible as according to my finding this work was completed in Mecca in 1187/1773, decades before his actual travels to Kedah.

He concludes his book by listing the writings of al-Falimbānī. In addition to those already mentioned in his previous work, he adds *Amṣ al-Muttaqīn* of which he claims to possess a manuscript copy in his personal collection. However, as we will see later, this work is wrongfully attributed to al-Falimbānī. Another writing that Abdullah lists is *Kitāb al-Isrā' wa 'l-Mi'rāj* which he claims was completed in 1201/1786, but according to my research, this work is correctly entitled *Risālah Laṭīfah fī Bayān al-Isrā' wa 'l-Mi'rāj* and was completed in Mecca in 1181/1767.³³

Abdullah also published two of al-Falimbānī's writings, his *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā* and *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*.³⁴ These two writings are the Malay transliteration of the *Jāwī* manuscript copies kept in his personal collection. Apart from telling us that from one of the manuscript copies, al-Falimbānī was described as 'a martyr on the path of God' (*shahīd fī sabīl Allāh*), both works do not provide us with additional information on al-Falimbānī's life.

Thus, from the review of contemporary scholarly writings, we observe that despite much interest there is limited information on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's life, writings and historical background.

Sources Relevant to Biographical Account of al-Falimbānī

Al-Falimbānī's Own Writings

The first and most obvious category of sources we can rely on to learn about al-Falimbānī's intellectual life and scholarly activities are the writings of the author himself. Though al-Falimbānī himself does not provide us with explicit account of his life in any of his writings, what can be extracted from them have been very useful in sketching his intellectual biographical account. Al-Falimbānī is one of the *Jāwī* authors who usually provides us with some information on his literary activities such as the places and dates when he began his writings or completed them. Often, he also provides us with the names of his teachers in his writings which gives us clear indication as to when he studied with them.

From such dates and places, we know that al-Falimbānī's three earliest known writings were his *Zahrat al-Murīd* which he completed in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1178/June 1765, followed by *Risālah fī Bayān Asbāh Muḥarramāt an-Nikāḥ* completed in Rabi' al-Awwal 1179/August 1765, and *Risālah Laṭīfah fī Bayān al-Isrā' wa 'l-Mī'rāj* completed in Rajab 1181/December 1767, all three of them written in Mecca. The next dated writings are his *Naṣīḥat al-Muslimīn wa-Tadhkirat al-Mu'minīn*, a treatise on *jihād* completed in Mecca, in Jumādā al-Ūlā 1187/August 1773. *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn* was completed in Mecca, in Muḥarram 1192/

February 1778 and *Sayr as-Sālikīn* was completed in four stages: the first volume in Mecca early 1194/1780, the second completed in aṭ-Ṭā'if in 1195/1781, the third completed in Mecca in 1197/1783, and the fourth and final volume completed in aṭ-Ṭā'if in 1203/1789.

It is by critically examining these dates that I have been able to conclude that after completing his third work, *Risālah Laṭīfah*, he travelled to Medina to study with Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān. As we will see in the next chapter, he was reported to have studied in Medina for five years, therefore he must have studied with as-Sammān between the years 1181/1767 and 1187/1773. This is made obvious in his own writings. Unlike all his works written in or after 1187/1773, where he never fails to mention his teacher as-Sammān whom he venerated highly, his first three writings not only fail to mention as-Sammān's name but also give a clear indication that he had not met him and was not yet his student by that time (prior to 1187/1773).

Furthermore, from his *Zahr al-Murīd*, I have been able to glean the names of some of his teachers who have not been mentioned in any modern studies. What is known to contemporary studies from this work was that al-Falimbānī attended the lectures of the Egyptian scholar Aḥmad ad-Damanhūrī at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām during the *Ḥajj* season but his teachers mentioned in this treatise such as 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Muḥammad al-Hilāl al-Makkī, 'Aṭā Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Miṣrī and Aḥmad b. Aḥmad as-Siblāwī, have never been noted in contemporary studies.

However, as further discussion on al-Falimbānī's biography, teachers and writings will follow in the following chapters, it suffices to say here that critical analysis of al-Falimbānī's own writings has provided this study with information not known to contemporary scholarship and helped the reconstruction of his intellectual biography.

Arabic and Malay Sources by al-Falimbānī's Contemporaries

Apart from al-Falimbānī's own writings, the next available sources for his intellectual life and scholarly activities are the writings of his contemporaries and students. Though the writings of his contemporaries do not directly provide us with information on al-Falimbānī's life, they

however furnish us with information on the socio-religious environment of his age. This can be seen for instance from the writings of his contemporaries such as Muḥammad Arshad al-Banjārī's classification of the groups that deviated from the correct understanding of the *Ṣūfī*'s doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, and another Palembang author, Shihāb ad-Dīn who tells us in his *risalah* about the spread of *waḥdat al-wujūd* among the masses which have such a wide circulation in the Malay Archipelago, and to warn against the rampant neglect of religious observances resulting from its influence which have lead the *Jāwī* to go astray.³⁵ Thus from these sources, we can extract information on the religious environment in the Archipelago, and Palembang in particular during the period he lived.

On the other hand, the writings of some of al-Falimbānī's students provide us with additional details and insights about his activity as a teacher. This is particularly true of one of his closest students, Wajīh ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Ahdal al-Yamanī (d. 1250/1834). Among his best known writings is his compilation of his teachers in his *an-Nafas al-Yamānī wa 'r-Rawḥ ar-Rayḥānī fī Ijāzat al-Quḍāt Banī ash-Shawkānī*.³⁶ It is worth mentioning that though this work strongly resembles a biographical dictionary, it is in fact his *thabat*, as he only compiles the list of his teachers and their teachers together with the books he read with them. It differs from an ordinary biographical dictionary in that it only lists his own teachers who were originally from Zabīd and later gave *ijāzah* for this work to the three ash-Shawkānīs. As a rule, granting *ijāzah* does not apply to any biographical dictionary compilations. In his prologue, al-Ahdal tells us that this *thabat* was written to fulfil the request of the three judges from the ash-Shawkānī family, 'Alī and Aḥmad, both sons of his teacher, Muḥammad b. 'Alī ash-Shawkānī and his brother Yaḥyā b. 'Alī ash-Shawkānī, all of them requested that he give them his written *ijāzah*. Apart from listing his own teachers and their teachers, this work of al-Ahdal also provides their biographical notices and he divides them into three *ṭabaqah* according to the teachers they studied with. Hence, the first *ṭabaqah* is for his teachers who studied with his grandfather, Yaḥyā b. 'Umar al-Ahdal (d. 1147/1734), the second *ṭabaqah* for his teachers who studied with his maternal uncle, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Sharīf Maqbūl al-Ahdal (d. 1163/1749), and the third

ṭabaqah for his teachers who studied with his father, Sulaymān b. Yahyā al-Ahdal (d. 1197/1782). However, all three *ṭabaqāt* are specifically intended for his teachers who were originally from Zabīd as he termed them '*mashāyikhī min ahl Zabīd*.'

In addition to these three *ṭabaqāt*, the author also added another category of his teachers who were visiting scholars who taught in Zabīd, as he puts it: "*al-wāfīdīn ilā madīnat Zabīd*." Among this latter category was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, who according to my findings also studied with both the author's grandfather, Yahyā al-Ahdal and maternal uncle, Aḥmad al-Ahdal. Unfortunately, as the first three *ṭabaqāt* were only allocated for '*ulamā*' of Zabīd origin, al-Falimbānī was not included in any of them. Perhaps, if these *ṭabaqāt* were not limited to scholars of Zabīd origin, we might have found further information on al-Falimbānī's scholarship in Yemen, particularly in Zabīd itself, as he clearly had a very close teacher-student links to its scholars, especially the al-Ahdal family.

It should be noted that through this work 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal highlights the importance of Zabīd as a centre for Islamic learning and the role of its '*ulamā*' in providing traditional Islamic instruction as well as a link to the wider scholarly network, particularly the al-Ahdal family themselves as they were not just instructors in the scholarly networks but as can be seen later, were also *mufīis* of Zabīd for generations.

It should also be highlighted that this work is the first ever known Arabic source to provide us with the life account of a *Jāwī* scholar active in Yemen and in this case, that of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, the first ever known *Jāwī* scholar to have his life accounts recorded in such Arabic writings. This definitely reflects his prominent position among the '*ulamā*' of his generation and particularly among his compatriots as none of them before him had ever earned this privilege. It certainly also indicates his respected career in Arabia and signifies that some of the *Jāwī* scholars have attained an equal rank with their Arab peers in Islamic instruction.

Since al-Ahdal's work is the first to provide us with an account of the career of a *Jāwī* scholar in the Arab world, it is not surprising that contemporary scholars pay attention to this work. Among them is R. Michael Feener, who wrote an article introducing al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas*

al-Yamānī together with his English translation of the entry on ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī.³⁷ However, as I found the translation unsatisfactory, I have provided my own translation of this biographical notice as an appendix to this study.³⁸ It may be appropriate at this stage to give a summary of al-Ahdal’s entry on al-Falimbānī in order to highlight the importance of this source.

Al-Ahdal says that among his teachers whom he counts under the category of *al-wāfīdīn* to Zabīd is “our Shaykh *al-‘allāmah* (the great scholar), *al-walī* (the saint), *al-fahhāmah* (the astute), *at-taqī* (the pious), *wajīh al-Islām* (notable of Islam), ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī who arrived at the city of Zabīd in the year 1206/1791.” He adds that al-Falimbānī was among those who applied their knowledge to their life (*al-‘ulamā’ al-‘āmilūn*) and among those who had facility in virtually every aspect of the Islamic sciences (*al-muntafi‘īn fī sā‘ir al-‘ulūm*). He studied with the scholars of his period, from among the people of *al-Haramayn* such as ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Ibrāhīm ar-Ra‘īs, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad Mirdād, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah ‘Aṭā [Allāh] al-Miṣrī, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad al-Jawharī, ash-Shaykh al-‘Allāmah Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī and others. He then turned towards Ṣūfism and directed most of his attention to studying and teaching al-Ghazālī’s *Ilḥyā’ ‘Ulūm ad-Dīn* and he began to enjoin people (i.e. his students and his colleagues) to occupy themselves with this book and to glorify its significance, and to frequently highlight its virtues and benefits. He explained that the least of these benefits to those who occupy themselves with it and follow its teachings being that they discover their own faults, shortcomings and limitations. Thereafter they are granted success and protection from conceit by God, the Great and Almighty. According to al-Ahdal, when al-Falimbānī arrived in Zabīd, he continued to increase his exhortations on studying the *Ilḥyā’* and al-Ahdal read with him the beginning of every quarter of the book and asked him for an *ijāzah* of the whole book to teach to gain benefit from its knowledge. Al-Falimbānī then granted him a lengthy *ijāzah* which he wrote for him in his own noble handwriting.³⁹

In brief, it is from this source that we are able to extract crucial information on some of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī’s activities as a teacher in Zabīd as well as information on his date of arrival in Zabīd,

his *al-Ḥaramayn*'s teachers, his erudition and his personality. However, it does not furnish us further with information on his earlier life such as his studies, his teachers other than those in *al-Ḥaramayn*, his sojourn in Zabīd during his studies and teaching career, his students, his writings and his death. Nevertheless, all the available information definitely enables us to reconstruct a more precise biographical sketch of al-Falimbānī and his scholarly activity.

It is important to point out that it was from al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* that al-Falimbānī's biography was later reproduced by a number of compilers. These include, in chronological order Ṣiddīq b. Ḥasan al-Qannūjī's (1248-1307/1832-89) *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*.⁴⁰ According to the author in his prologue, this work is written about a group of scholars who have affiliation with the science of *Ḥadīth* and those who were among its practicing scholars. He compiled more than five hundred and forty biographical notices on scholars of *Ḥadīth* from the early Islamic centuries including great scholars such as the founders of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence (*Madhhab*): Imām Mālik, Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām Shāfi'ī and Imām Aḥmad, and also includes all the authors of *Ḥadīth* books, such as al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, at-Tirmidhī, an-Nasā'ī, Ibn Mājah, al-Ijākīm, and later centuries such as Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, as-Suyūṭī and as-Sakhāwī. This work also includes renowned *Ṣūfī* scholars such as 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, al-Ghazālī and 'Abd al-Wahhāb ash-Sha'rānī.

The author then follows with scholars of later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Yemen and Maghrib, up to his period, such as the Meccan *muḥaddith* 'Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, the renowned *muḥaddith* of Ṣan'ā', Yemen, Muḥammad ash-Shawkānī, scholars of Zabīd including the three generations of al-Ahdal family, Yaḥyā, Sulaymān and 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, and others. Among those also included is 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, and again he is the only *Jāwī* scholar found in this literature. It is important to note that for most of the entries for scholars from the twelfth and thirteenth A.H. (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D.) onwards, the author relies mostly on both of his teachers' writings, ash-Shawkānī's *al-Badr at-Ṭālī*' and al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*.

Therefore as one can expect, on the biographical account of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, al-Qannūjī replicated information already provided by al-Ahdal. However, for the list of al-Falimbānī's teachers in addition to those mentioned by al-Ahdal, he added another teacher by the name of Shaykh Muḥammad Murād. As we can see later, there is strong evidence that he was Muḥammad Murād b. Ya'qūb al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Anṣārī as-Sindī.

Al-Qannūjī's work was later followed by 'Aydarūs b. 'Umar al-'Alawī al-Ḥabshī (1237-1314/1831-96) who compiled his list of teachers and their teachers including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī in his two *thabat* entitled '*Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah wa-Simḥ al-'Ayn adh-Dhahabiyyah bi-Dhikr Ṭarīq as-Sādāt al-'Alawiyyah*, and '*Uqūd al-La'āl fī Asānīd ar-Rijāl*. As both writings are compilations of the author's *thabat*, they include among others his *isnāds*, several biographical accounts of his teachers and their teachers, and *ijāzahs* written by his teachers and their teachers. Such details are useful, especially the *ijāzahs* provided in these literatures as they furnish us with accounts of scholarly networks where students come in contact with their teachers, the literatures studied and transmitted through such contact, and no less important specifying the places and times of such meetings. According to the author, his '*Iqd al-Yawāqūt* was compiled to record his *silsilah* of the al-'Alawiyyah Sayyids and their *Ṣūfī* orders together with his continuous *isnāds* up to the Prophet SAW, and this was later followed by his '*Uqūd al-La'āl*, compiled to record his *isnāds* on *ḥadīth* and various Islamic sciences that he studied with numerous teachers, providing a list and account of these teachers.

In his '*Iqd al-Yawāqūt*, among the numerous *isnāds* recorded in this work is the *isnād* for the as-Sammāniyyah *Ṣūfī* Order which he received from several teachers, all of them in turn received it from 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal, who in turn received this order from 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jāwī, who received it from his teacher Muḥammad as-Sammān himself.⁴¹ Thus, this work provides us with *isnād* that include al-Falimbānī. His '*Uqūd al-La'āl* records his teachers and their teachers, among them 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Ahdal who according to al-Ḥabshī was his father's and uncle's teacher. It is important to point out that al-Ḥabshī himself was also included among the students of al-Ahdal by way of

ijāzah 'ammah (general authorisation).⁴² It is under the entry on al-Ahdal that the author provides us a list of his teachers including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Jāwī.⁴³ As was previously the case in al-Qannūjī's writing, the author only replicates and summarises al-Falimbānī's biographical notice from *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, hence no new information is added to our existing knowledge. However, since both writings also provide biographical accounts of the author's teachers and their teachers, they become important sources for this study as these teachers are the generations of al-Falimbānī's teachers, students and contemporaries.

Later, 'Abd ar-Razzāq b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Bayṭār ad-Dimashqī (d. 1335/1916) compiled biographical reports on scholars who were alive during the thirteenth A.H./nineteenth century A.D. in his *Ḥilyat al-Bashar fī Tārīkh al-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*. As 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was among those who were active during this period since he was reported to have arrived at the city of Zabīd in 1206/1791, therefore al-Bayṭār included him in his writing. However, as the compiler himself was born decades later (in 1253/1837), the information recorded on al-Falimbānī was only gathered from the writings of his predecessors, namely al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* and al-Qannūjī's *at-Tāj al-Mukallal*. Since al-Bayṭār himself did not find any information on al-Falimbānī's death, he roughly estimates that al-Falimbānī must have died after 1206/1791 and also attributed an epistle entitled *Faḍā'il al-Ihyā'* to al-Falimbānī.⁴⁴

'Abd ar-Razzāq al-Bayṭār was later followed by a modern Yemeni traditionalist scholar from Ṣan'ā', Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī aṣ-Ṣan'ānī (d. 1381/1961) better known as Zabārah who compiled a biographical work on scholars from Yemen in the thirteenth century A.H./nineteenth century A.D. entitled *Nayl al-Waḥar min Tarājim Rijāl al-Yaman fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*. As 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal was among the Yemeni scholars who lived in the thirteenth century, his biographical account is included in this dictionary and in his entry, Zabārah also mentioned in passing that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was one of his numerous teachers.⁴⁵

A contemporary Moroccan traditionalist scholar, 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. 'Abd al-Kabīr al-Kattānī (d. 1382/1962) compiled his *isnāds* for about one thousand and two hundred *thabat* literatures which he gathered from the eastern and western parts of the Islamic world in his *Fahras*

al-Fahāris wa 'l-Athbāt wa-Mu'jam al-Ma'ājim wa 'l-Mashkhāt wa 'l-Musalsalāt. According to al-Kattānī, he wrote this work upon the request for an *ijāzah* by Muḥammad Ḥabīb Allāh ash-Shinqīṭī.⁴⁶ Apart from his *isnāds*, he also included biographical notices of notable scholars from the eastern and western Islamic world including scholars from Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Syria, India, Baghdad, Yemen, Turkey, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Fes, and others, and this work according to him was completed in 1343/1924.

As 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal's *an-Nafas al-Yamānī* was among the *thabat* literatures included in this compilation, therefore he provided us a six-page description of al-Ahdal and his work. Al-Kattānī mentioned that in his writing, al-Ahdal divided his teachers into three *ṭabaqāt* as described earlier and then followed by providing biographical accounts of his teachers who were visitors to Zabīd, including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī. However, apart from listing him as one of al-Ahdal's numerous teachers, al-Kattānī himself does not provide any information on al-Falimbānī.⁴⁷

Mention of 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī is also recorded by contemporary Arabic biographical compilers such as 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālāh (d. 1408/1987). He compiled an extensive list of authors who have written in Arabic together with samples of their writings in his *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin: Tarājim Muṣammifī 'l-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah* from the early stage such writings were recorded until his time. He also includes poets and narrators, collecting their literary works after their death and provides brief biographical reports for those whose birth and death were known, or the period that they lived.

Among the authors who have written in Arabic included in this dictionary was 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Jāwī himself, whom Kaḥḥālāh credits with one work entitled *Faḍā'il al-Iḥyā'* or virtues of al-Ghazālī's *al-Iḥyā'*. He points out that 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī was a *Ṣūfī* scholar who was well acquainted with various Islamic sciences and was reported to have arrived in Zabīd in 1206/1791 and hence deduced that he lived during the thirteenth century A.H.⁴⁸

Finally our contemporary Muḥammad Adīb al-Ahdalī (1312-92/1894-1972) who compiled biographical notices of the al-Ahdal family in his *al-Qawl al-'Aḍal fī Tarājim Banī al-Ahdal* also mentions

al-Falimbānī in passing. According to Adīb al-Ahdalī, the al-Ahdal family are descendants of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Īsā b. ‘Alawī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamḥām b. ‘Awf b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim b. Ja’far aṣ-Ṣādiq who originated from al-Baṣrah, Iraq and later migrated to Medīna, thence Wādī Sihām in the village of al-Murāwa’ah, Yemen in the fourth century A.H./tenth century A.D. It was his grandson, ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad who was the first to be known with the family name al-Ahdal.⁴⁹

Among those included by the biographer are the three descendants of the earlier mentioned al-Ahdal family of Zabīd: Yaḥyā, Sulaymān and ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal. For the biographical account of ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Ahdal, he used Zabārah’s *Nayl al-Waḥar* and thus included mentioning ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī among al-Ahdal’s teachers.⁵⁰

As already highlighted, the numerous books on *isnād* published by the contemporary Indonesian traditionalist scholar, Muḥammad Yāsīn al-Fādānī, are a crucial source for information on al-Falimbānī’s life. Although al-Fādānī is our contemporary, his writings provide numerous *isnāds* of ‘ulamā’ of *Jāwī* origin, including that of ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī himself which are not available elsewhere; these should be treated as traditional sources as he follows the traditional approach to Islamic writings. It is by critical analysis of such *isnāds* that we are able to extract and study the list of al-Falimbānī’s teachers and students and the various Islamic sciences which he studied with them, thus giving us a better picture of al-Falimbānī’s learning and scholarly life.

Recent Malay Sources for al-Falimbānī’s Life

Perhaps one of the earliest traditional Malay source which provides an account of al-Falimbānī’s life is Muhammad Hassan Dato’ Kerani Muhammad’s *Tawārīkh Silsilah [Negeri Kedah]* (Chronicles of Kedah). As the title indicates, this treatise was compiled by Muhammad Hassan (1868-1943) based on the genealogical history of Kedah which begins from the year 390/999 up to Rabī’ al-Awwal 1345/September 1926 and includes the history of Kedah and its rulers. In his prologue, the author tells us that he compiled this work on 1 Rajab 1345/5 January 1927 upon the request of the ruler of Kedah, Sulṭān ‘Abd al-Ḥamid Ḥalīm Shāh b.

Sulṭān Aḥmad Tāj ad-Dīn Mukarrām Shāh in order to present a history of Kedah for the current younger generation.⁵¹

Though its early part on the history of Kedah seems more legendary than factual as the compiler claims the saga has been handed down over generations which certainly cannot be justified, the later part of this work is more reliable as it provides factual details of the generally known history of Kedah and its rulers.

It is important to point out that according to this work, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī had a strong blood connection with Kedah as he is believed to be the son of 'Abd al-Jalīl and the half brother of 'Abd al-Qādir, both *mufīis* of Kedah successively in the eighteenth century. Hence, within this source we can find al-Falimbānī's early life record which apparently is the only available evidence for his earliest life in the Archipelago. However, the life accounts of al-Falimbānī available from this source are minimal and can be summarised as follows. 'Abd al-Jalīl b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad al-Hamdānī (d. 1196/1782) was a wandering scholar who came from Ṣan'ā, Yemen and travelled extensively to Palembang, Java and India. It was during his stay in Palembang that the crown prince of Kedah, Muḥammad Jīwā, who later became the Sulṭān of Kedah, met and studied with him. After six months of stay in Palembang, Muḥammad Jīwā, who did not reveal his identity, followed his teacher to Java and thence to India.⁵²

It was not until their return voyage to Kedah that Muḥammad Jīwā revealed his identity to his teacher 'Abd al-Jalīl, and then he became the new Sulṭān of Kedah on 20 Sha'bān 1122/14 October 1710, replacing his late father who had died during his travels. Subsequently the new Sulṭān appointed his teacher to the religious office as the new *mufīi* of Kedah and gave in marriage to one of his nobles, Dato' Seri Maharaja Petra Dewa's daughter, Wan Zainab.⁵³

Few months following their arrival in Kedah, a student of 'Abd al-Jalīl from Palembang, Raden Siran, came to visit him. He stayed in Kedah for two months and later invited his teacher, the new *mufīi* of Kedah, to visit Palembang as his students were missing him. Soon after his arrival, 'Abd al-Jalīl married a local Palembang woman, perhaps from among the daughters of the nobles. It was from this marriage and

after his three years sojourn in Palembang that a son by the name 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad was born.

'Abd al-Jalīl then returned to Kedah with his new born son, and with his wife, Wan Zainab, he had two more sons, 'Abd al-Qādir and 'Abd Allāh. Later, his father dispatched both 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad and 'Abd al-Qādir to study in Mecca, Arabia; 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad eventually became famous as 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī and 'Abd al-Qādir himself returned back home and was later appointed as the *muftī* of Kedah to replace his father.⁵⁴

On the account of his death, according to this work, on the 10 Muḥarram 1244/23 July 1828, a rebellion against the Siamese (Thais) occupation of Kedah led by Tunku Muḥammad Sa'd (a nephew of the ousted Sulṭān of Kedah) was joined by 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī who happened to be in Kedah visiting his half brother the *muftī* 'Abd al-Qādir. Later, al-Falimbānī was reported to have been killed in the *jihād* against the Siamese when the latter attacked the Malays near the town of Singgora (modern Songkhla), at present in Southern Thailand.⁵⁵

Though, out of all the available sources only this work seems to provides us with the early life account of al-Falimbānī, it has yet to be treated cautiously as new evidence in other sources does not accord with it. For instance, on his ancestry as can be seen later, 'Abd al-Jalīl is proven to be his grandfather instead of his father as alleged by this source, and the death of al-Falimbānī in the war against the Siamese alleged to be in the year 1244/1828 is inaccurate as other historical sources indicate that it occurs later.

A second Malay source and perhaps more reliable than the aforementioned *Tawārīkh Silsilah* that should be consulted is the work of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad 'Afīf al-Jāwī al-Banjārī (1857-1939), a maternal grandson of Arshad al-Banjārī. He compiled a genealogical account of Arshad al-Banjārī and his descendants in a *Jāwī* text entitled *Risālah Shajarah al-Arshadiyah al-Banjariyah wa-mā ulḥiqa bi-hā*, which according to Ṣiddīq himself was completed on Friday, 12 Shawwāl 1350/19 February 1932.⁵⁶ He begins his writing with a prologue introducing the historical background and life of Arshad al-Banjārī and some of his *manāqib* (merits). According to Ṣiddīq, Arshad was born to a righteous man (*laki-laki yang ṣāliḥ*) by the name of 'Abd Allāh during

the reign of Sulṭān Ṭahmīd Allāh b. Sulṭān Tamjīd Allāh of Banjar on the night of Thursday, 13 Ṣafar 1122/13 April 1710.⁵⁷

Looking at the young and talented Arshad, the Sulṭān quickly fell in love with him, adopting him and sending him to a local religious teacher for his rudimentary education. Upon completing his basic education, the Sulṭān dispatched him to Mecca for pilgrimage and to further his studies with the scholars of *al-Ḥaramayn*. Among these scholars were Shaykh 'Aṭā' Allāh in Mecca and Shaykh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī in Medina, spending some thirty years and five years in Mecca and Medina, respectively.⁵⁸ In Mecca, he studied together with his fellow compatriots including 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī, 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-Batāwī and 'Abd al-Waḥhāb as-Siantanī, and travelled with them to Egypt and Medina, and later to the Archipelago arriving in Batavia (now Jakarta), according to Sayyid 'Uthmān al-Batāwī on 2 Rabi' al-Ākhir 1186/3 July 1772.⁵⁹

Furthermore, Ṣiddīq al-Banjārī also provides us with a rather detailed account of al-Falimbānī's travels back to the Archipelago in another work. On the title cover of al-Falimbānī's *Hidāyat as-Sālikūn*, an undated edition by Maṭba'at al-Aḥmadiyyah, Singapore, Ṣiddīq provides a brief biographical account of the author's travels and scholarship. He informs us that his maternal grandfather, Arshad al-Banjārī together with 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī studied in Mecca for thirty years and their teachers include Shaykh 'Aṭā' Allāh and then together travelled to Egypt to further their studies. In Medina, they met and studied with Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurdī the author of *Fatāwā al-Madaniyyah*⁶⁰ and its *mufṭī*. It was during their sojourn in Medina that they also studied with Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān, from whom they took the *bay'ah* (pledge of allegiance) and later both were appointed as his *khalīfah*. After their studies in Medina for five years, they travelled back to the Archipelago, first arriving at Penang then Singapore thence Batavia. From there onward, they separated as they return to Palembang and Banjar, respectively.⁶¹

Though both the above mentioned Malay works do not tell us much about al-Falimbānī himself, they do become crucial sources that relate al-Falimbānī's life, his contemporaries, his duration of studies in

al-Ḥaramayn, and his travels in the Arab world as well as his return to the Archipelago, which are not readily available elsewhere.

Thus it is from the study and analysis of all the above mentioned sources and materials that enables us to gain fresh information on 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad al-Falimbānī's life, historical background, his intellectual development during his learning and teaching, his scholarly activities especially as a teacher in Mecca and Zabīd, and his writing career which were not available in previous studies. Analytical and critical study of these sources have also enabled us to draw together pieces of information on al-Falimbānī, enabling us to reconstruct a more precise biographical data of his intellectual life and scholarly activities, which we will turn to next.

Endnotes

- ¹ See Drewes (d. 1992), G. W. J., "Snouck Hurgronje and the Study of Islam" in *BKI* (113, 1957), pp. 1-15.
- ² See Hurgronje (d. 1936), C. Snouck. *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, translated by J. H. Monahan (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 289.
- ³ See Voorhoeve (d. 1996), P., "'AbdAl-Ṣamad b. 'AbdAllāh Al-Palimbānī" in *EF* (Leiden, E. J. Brill; London, Luzac & Co., 1960), vol. I, p. 92.
- ⁴ See Ronkel, *Catalogus Der Maleische Handschriften*, pp. 57, 383, 400, 429; idem, *Supplement to The Catalogue of The Arabic Manuscripts Preserved in The Museum of The Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences* (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1913), pp. 139, 216.
- ⁵ This work is correctly entitled *Zahrāt al-Murīd*, as *Zahrah* means flower while *Zuhrah* is Venus, the second planet from the Sun.
- ⁶ The correct title of this work is *al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā wa-Silsilat al-Walī al-Atqā*, by whom al-Falimbānī meant his renowned *Ṣūfī* master in Medina, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm as-Sammān.
- ⁷ See Voorhoeve, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 92.
- ⁸ See Winstedt, *A History of Classical Malay Literature*, p. 152.
- ⁹ This article in English, was first published in *Akademika* and was later included as Chapter IX of his *Peradaban Dalam Islam*. See El-Muhammady, Muḥammad 'Uthman, "The Islamic concept of education according to Shaykh 'Abdu's-Samad of Palembang and its Significance in relation to the issue of personality integration" in *Akademika* (1, 1972),

- pp. 59-84; idem, *Peradaban Dalam Islam* (Kota Bharu, Pustaka Aman Press, 1982), pp. 164-206.
- ¹⁰ It should be noted that the difference between the two Arabic words 'sayr' and 'siyar' (sing. *sīrah*); is that the former literally means journey, generally applied to mystical or spiritual journey and the latter literally means conduct, but generally used to describe 'life history.' As we shall see later, the correct title of this work is *Sayr as-Sālikīn ilā 'Ibādat Rabb al-Ālamīn*.
- ¹¹ See El-Muhammady, "The Islamic concept of education," pp. 62-84;
- ¹² See Drewes, *Directions for Travellers*, pp. 219-29.
- ¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 87-105.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 222.
- ¹⁵ Upon the discovery of these texts, Professor M.C. Ricklefs called them to the attention of Professor Drewes, who published them with an English translation and commentary. See Drewes, "Further data concerning 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Palimbānī" in *BKI* (132, 1976), pp. 269-71, 290-2.
- ¹⁶ See Drewes, "Further data," pp. 267, 273-4.
- ¹⁷ See Drewes, *Directions for Travellers*, pp. 219-29.
- ¹⁸ See Chambert-Loir, Henri, "Abdussamad Al-Falimbani Sebagai Ulama Jawi," in al-Falimbānī, 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad, *Sayr as-Sālikīn*, Romanised by Muin Umar (Banda Aceh, Museum Negeri Aceh, 1985), pp. v-xvi.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. vi-xii.
- ²⁰ See Johns, Anthony H., "Islam in the Malay World: An Exploratory Survey with some reference to Quranic Exegesis" in Raphael Israeli and A. H. Johns (eds.), *Islam in Asia: Southeast and East Asia* (2 vols., Jerusalem, The Magnes Press, 1984), vol. II, pp. 115-61.
- ²¹ Ṣiddīq al-Madanī's work entitled *Qaṭf Azhār al-Mawāhib ar-Rabbāniyyah min Afnān Riyāḍ an-Nafḥat al-Qudsiyyah li-Sayyidīnā ash-Shaykh as-Sammān* has been edited by Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī and published in Egypt.
- ²² See Quzwain, M. Chatib, "Syeikh 'Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani: Suatu Studi Mengenai Perkembangan Islam di Palembang dalam Abad ke 18 Masehi" in Gadjahnata, K.H.O. and Swasono, Sri-Edi (eds.), *Masuk dan Berkembangnya Islam di Sumatera Selatan* (1st edition, Jakarta, Penerbit Universitas Indonesia, 1986), pp. 170-90.
- ²³ For instance, it is clear from early discussion that his *Zahrat al-Murīd* was based on ad-Damanhūrī's lectures which he attended at al-Masjīd al-Ḥarām. Further discussion on al-Falimbānī's works will follow in Chapter 5.

- 24 Quzwain, M. Chatib, *Mengenal Allah: Suatu Kajian Mengenai Ajaran Tasawuf Syekh Abd. Samad al-Palimbani* (6th edition, Kuala Lumpur, Thinker's Library Sdn. Bhd., 2003).
- 25 *Ibid*, pp. 19-30.
- 26 See Azra, Azyumardi *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII: Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia* (Bandung, Mizan, 1994); idem, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in The Seventeenth And Eighteenth Centuries* (Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 2004).
- 27 See Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism*, pp. 116, 194.
- 28 See Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Later Part of 19th Century*, pp. 286-7. For Ahmad al-Faṭānī's list of works, see Heer, Nicholas, *A Concise Handlist of Jawi Authors and Their Works* (Version 1.9, Seattle, Washington, 2008), pp. 19-21.
- 29 See Bruinessen, Martin van, "A Note on Source Materials for the Biographies of Southeast Asian 'Ulama'" in *La Transmission Du Savoir Dans Le Monde Musulman Périphérique, Lettre d'information*, 17 (1997), p. 65.
- 30 See Abdullah (d. 2007), Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Abdush Shamad Al-Falimbani: Shufi yang Syahid Fi Sabilillah* (1st edition, Ponitanak, Yayasan Pendidikan dan Da'wah Islamiyah Al-Fathanah, 1983).
- 31 *Ibid*, pp. 11-5.
- 32 Abdullah (d. 2007), Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad Palembang: Ulama Shufi dan Jihad Dunia Melayu* (1st edition, Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1996).
- 33 A full discussion on al-Falimbānī's works will follow in Chapter 5.
- 34 See Abdullah (d. 2007), Wan Mohd. Shaghir, *Al-'Urwatul Wutsqa Syeikh Abdus Shamad Al-Falimbani: Pegangan Yang Kukuh Golongan Shufi* (2nd edition, Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 1998); idem, *Hidayatus Salikin Shaykh Abdus Shamad al-Falimbani* (3 vols., Kuala Lumpur, Khazanah Fathaniyah, 2002).
- 35 *Supra*. p. 6.
- 36 Modern scholarly literatures wrongly transliterate this works as 'an-Nafs al-Yamānī wa 'r-Rūḥ ar-Rayḥānī' instead of the proper title *an-Nafas al-Yamānī wa 'r-Rawḥ ar-Rayḥānī*.
- 37 For his translation, see Feener, R. Michael, "Yemeni Sources for the History of Islam in Indonesia: 'Abd al-Samad Palimbani in the *Nafas*

al-Yamānī,” *La Transmission Du Savoir Dans Le Monde Musulman Peripherique*, 19 (1999), pp. 128-144.

- 38 I have noticed that some of Feener's translation does not correspond to the original Arabic text. For further details compare Feener, "Yemeni Sources for the History of Islam in Indonesia: 'Abd al-Samad Palimbani in the *Nafas al-Yamānī*," *La Transmission Du Savoir Dans Le Monde Musulman Peripherique*, 19 (1999), pp. 128-144 with appendix 1.
- 39 See al-Ahdal (d. 1250/1834), Wajīh ad-Dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Yamanī, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī wa 'r-Rawḥ ar-Rayḥānī fī Ijāzat al-Qudāt Banī ash-Shawkānī* (1st edition, Ṣan'ā', Markaz ad-Dirāsāt wa 'l-Abḥāth al-Yamaniyyah, 1979), pp. 138-9.
- 40 See al-Qannūjī (d. 1307/1889), Abū aṭ-Ṭayyīb Ṣiddīq b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Luṭf Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Bukhārī, *at-Tāj al-Mukallal min Jawāhir Maāthir aṭ-Ṭirāz 'l-Ākhir wa 'l-Awwal*, edited by Ibrāhīm Shams ad-Dīn (Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1424/2003), pp. 363-4.
- 41 See al-Ḥabshī (d. 1314/1896), 'Aydūs b. 'Umar b. 'Aydūs b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān al-'Alawī, *Iqd al-Yawāqūt al-Jawhariyyah wa-Sinṭ al-'Ayn adh-Dhahabiyyah bi-Dhikr Tariq as-Sādāt al-'Alawiyyah* (1st edition, 2 vols., Egypt, al-Maṭba'at al-'Āmirah ash-Sharafiyyah, 1317/1899), vol. 1, p. 91.
- 42 See al-Ahdal, *an-Nafas al-Yamānī*, p. 255; al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, p. 257; al-Fādānī, *an-Nafḥat al-Miskiyyah fī 'l-Asānīd al-Makkiyyah* (1st edition, Beirut, Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyyah, 1990/1410), p. 114.
- 43 See al-Ḥabshī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl*, pp. 223-4.
- 44 See al-Bayṭār (d. 1335/1916), 'Abd ar-Razzāq b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm ad-Dimashqī, *Ḥilyat al-Bashar fī Tārīkh al-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar*, edited by Muḥammad Bahjat al-Bayṭār (3 vols., Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1413/1993), vol. 2, pp. 851-2.
- 45 See Zabārah (d. 1381/1961), Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasanī al-Yamanī aṣ-Ṣan'ānī, *Nayl al-Waṭar min Tarājim Rijāl al-Yaman fī 'l-Qarn ath-Thālith 'Ashar min Hijrah Sayyid al-Bashar SAW*, edited by 'Ādil Aḥmad 'Abd al-Mawjūd and 'Alī Muḥammad Mu'awwaḍ (2nd edition, 2 vols., Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1419/1998), vol. 2, pp. 47-50.
- 46 See al-Kattānī (d. 1382/1962), 'Abd al-Ḥayy b. 'Abd al-Kabīr, *Fahras al-Fahāris wa 'l-Athbāt wa-Mu'jam al-Ma'ājim wa 'l-Mashikhāt wa 'l-Musalsalāt*, edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās (2nd edition, 3 vols., Beirut, Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1402/1932), vol. 1, pp. 49-57.
- 47 See al-Kattānī, *Fahras al-Fahāris*, vol. 2, pp. 695-700.

- 48 See Kaḥḥālāh (d. 1408/1987), 'Umar Riḍā, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin Tarājim Muṣannifi 'l-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah* (15 vols., Beirut, Dār Iḥyā' at-Turāth al-'Arabī, 1376/1957), vol. 5, p. 235.
- 49 See al-Ahdalī (d. 1392/1972), Muḥammad Adīb, *al-Qawl al-A'dal fi Tarājim Banī al-Ahdal* (Himṣ, Maṭba'at ash-Sharq, 1359/1940), pp. 1-6.
- 50 See al-Ahdalī, *al-Qawl al-A'dal*, pp. 124-6.
- 51 See Muḥammad (d. 1943), Muḥammad Hassan Dato' Kerani, *Tawārīkh Silsilah Negeri Kedah* (Penang, Jelutong Press, 1347/1928), p. 1.
- 52 *Ibid.* p. 112.
- 53 *Ibid.* pp. 129-30, 205.
- 54 *Ibid.* pp. 206-7.
- 55 *Ibid.* pp. 234-6.
- 56 See al-Banjārī (d. 1357/1939), 'Abd ar-Raḥmān Ṣiddīq b. Muḥammad 'Alīf al-Jāwī, *Risālah Shajarah al-Arshadiyyah al-Banjariyyah wa-mā ulḥiqa bi-hā* (Singapore, Maṭba'at al-Aḥmadiyyah, 1356/1937), p. 103.
- 57 *Ibid.* p. 5. However, the date and day he provides does not accord as the 13th falls on Sunday.
- 58 *Ibid.* pp. 5-6.
- 59 See al-Batāwī (d. 1331/1913), 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Aqīl b. Yaḥyā al-'Alawī al-Jāwī, *Tahrīr Aqwā al-Adillah* (Batavia, s.n., 1320/1902), p. 1.
- 60 This is perhaps his *Fatāwā al-Kurḍī* as the original title of this text is only *Fatāwā* by Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kurḍī al-Madanī, thus known as *Fatāwā al-Kurḍī*.
- 61 A lithographed copy of the *Hidāyat as-Sālikīn*'s cover page is printed in Abdullah, *Syeikh Abdus Shamad*, p. 173.